1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 64 c] Wukchumni

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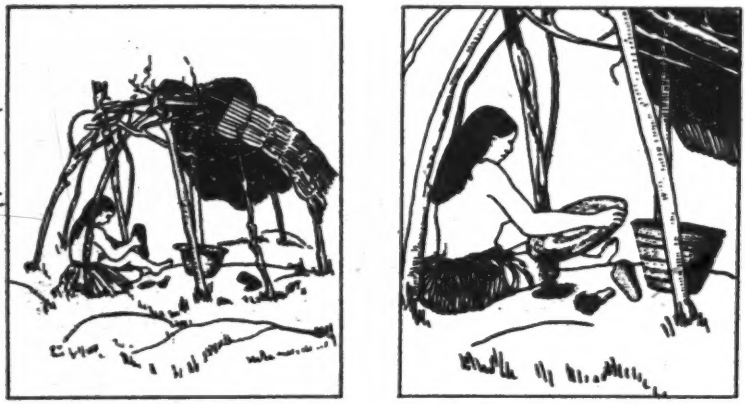

a b

Fig. 6. Wukchumni woman at bedrock mortar with seasonal shade. a, pounding acorns. b, sifting off coarse particles. (After photograph.)

412 322 nobby upper end by capping it with boiled soaproot and tying over this a piece of buckskin. Weights were never added.

The soaproot brush (šine ʔil) varied in size from small ones some 4 inches long to large ones of 9 inches.[392] They were used variously for brushing up meal when preparing foodstuffs, or for brushing the hair. Hairbrushes were large and made of coarse fibres which have hook-like tips. One in a family was sufficient. The root to make a brush was dug after the flower had faded when the fibres around the root had reached a maximum toughness. The plant's top was torn off and the fibres carefully removed from around the bulb. The bulb was boiled in water until it became a plastic cream-colored mass. The fibres having been arranged as a brush and so tied, the bulb mass was pressed and shaped over the end as a handle and tied in place with several wrappings of string. The liquid from the bulb was viscous and was applied to burden baskets and cradles, where it dried as a practically colorless stiffener.

[302] [314]

415 The set of rock lifters consisted of a pair of straight sticks and a looped one. The looped lifter, commonly called mushstirrer because one must necessarily stir about in the mush to find the cooking stones, was made of a peeled withelike stick, heated over coals and then bent around the foot to form a loop. The double handle thus formed was tied with a milkweed string or with a thong (see pl. 1, right verticals). Wild grapevine withes were used for a light type of lifter which was peeled, looped, and tied while still green and flexible. Two sticks from Drum Valley are made of bent young oak and, according to the collector's notes, are tied with the inner bark of oak.[393] Although these looped sticks were used to extract cooking stones from food which was being boiled, the hot stones were lifted in with a pair of pine sticks flattened out at one end. As these were often charred they were not allowed to touch the food, and hot rocks to which ashes clung were dipped in water on their way into the food. The best hot-rock lifters were of pine and were bought from the Eastern Mono, who made them for trade. A medium-sized basket (8 to 12 inches in diameter) of simple flaring type was considered a suitable payment in return.

[439]

285 482 The "set" of baskets comprised six types essential for food-gathering, preparation, and cooking. (See figs. 2 and 3.) The large conical burden basket (a ʔnaš) was of split willow. It was diagonally twined, of close work, and was stiffened with soaproot liquor. Because of

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[392] Those collected by Dr. Barrett and now in the University of California Museum of Anthropology.

[393] University of California, Museum of Anthropology, nos. 1-10846, 1-10848; Dr. S.A. Barrett, collector; cf. Kroeber, Handbook, fig. 38.

285 the soluble stiffening nothing wet was ever put
482 in it. The apex of the basket was protected with a piece of buckskin sewed on like a patch. Loops to which a tumpline was attached usually hung from the inside about one-third of the way down the sides; sometimes they were on the outside. The burden basket was used primarily for collecting seeds and acorns or other vegetable materials and was kept very clean. Joints of meat, dirty roots, fagots, or pottery clay (wrapped in buckskin) were carried in the carrying net. (The carrying net was primarily a man's possession. They were made by men and sold to women. Women could make them and also were free to use them when available.) A kind of companion piece to the burden basket was the seed-beater (yama´ki). This was a handled
[222] scoop of fine openwork twine. When used as a beater the burden basket was held beneath the beaten plant tops to catch the seeds; another method, preferred when possible, was to keep the burden basket on the back, knock plant heads or seeds into the scoop-shaped beater which was then cast back over the left shoulder so the seeds fell in the burden basket. Another type of collecting basket was a large, oval, very openwork twine scoop (a´pot) for carrying fish; smaller ones of the same construction were used to catch fish in the water. Two baskets used in the preparation of food were the coiled winnowing tray (koyo´ṭo) and the sieve (ta´myuk) which was of fine openwork twining; it was very like the seed-beater but lacked a handle. The cooking basket (pota´na)
285 was invariably of twined weave, coarse and
415 close, and had four horizontal bands of redbud worked in a plain or herringbone pattern. All these baskets were essential. Naturally, more than one, and varieties of size or coarseness, were desired even among these six types. Another basket for food was a large flaring basket (kača´o) of coiled technique in which cooked mush was stored, or other cooked foods; it was also watertight so that water for cooking or washing might be put in it. Small coiled serving baskets (also called kačao) with flat bottoms and flaring sides were used as individual eating baskets for each member of the family.

285 Additional baskets, which every woman might not own, were the coiled basket cap (waki´n:ts) used only under the tumpline, the large, flat, handsomely patterned coiled gambling tray (tai´'iwan), and the shouldered ornamental basket (a´ma) which was used by both sexes for the storing of treasures and cherished as a treasure in itself.

323 Not every woman owned pottery cooking
415 vessels (ki´w:c) but all did who could make or afford them among the Central Foothill tribes. Most housewives wanted two large ones for boiling meat and fish and a few smaller dishes for keeping or serving food. Children were not allowed to eat from pottery dishes.

[p. 179 b] chuckchansi

252 2-1/2 inches thick. On one side was the cooking depression, about 3 inches in diameter. It was customary to bake these cakes and distribute them to children before the mush-cooking was undertaken.

[855]

251 Uncooked mush could be kept for some time, then cooked as needed. (Thrall saw a basketful on a porch at Picayune which "looked like dried putty." A similar basketful seen by Gayton looked like a mixture for an old-fashioned linseed poultice.)

263 Mush was often flavored by adding pulverized seeds of various kinds.

252 Seeds.---Seeds were parched on circular trays by adding hot coals and shaking the whole lot vigorously. To separate the coals, the seeds were then sifted through an openwork basket (zale). This, said N.W., was the same shape as the basket on which the roasting was done. The seeds were then taken to a mortar rock and pounded in a deep hole. An oil which exuded caused the seed flour to ball. The food was eaten in these balls; it kept a long time. These seeds were got in the valley.

[385 415]

Tarweed [seeds or leaves?] was pulverized and eaten dry that way, or added to manzanita cider for flavoring. Never was it used to flavor acorn mush. When eaten dry it tended to blow about, causing one to choke. (All present laughed at the informant's description of this.) The tarweed preferred bloomed in July; it "smelled good and was good food." Emma Pumpkin gathered a sackful this summer (1938).

[263]

222 Wild oats grew abundantly in the Coarse Gold region, said J.R. The women gather these 252 seeds in seedbeaters, throwing the grain over their shoulders into burden baskets hung on their backs. Old women worked every day at this; it took about one day to fill the burden basket. The seeds were laid out on rocks to dry; when the husks were ready to drop off they were winnowed. To prepare these seeds for 252 eating, they were roasted on a basket with hot coals, the coals later being sifted out by means of another basket. The parched seeds were then pounded in a bedrock mortar into a flour somewhat finer than cornmeal. The flour was mixed with water, then shaped as small thin biscuits. These were cooked in hot ashes, closely watched to prevent burning. Such cakes were eaten cold or hot, or laid away for the next meal. They were a favorite accompaniment to manzanita cider.

222 A "grass" grows down toward the valley which "blooms red on the end" and produces fine black seeds. These are ripe in late summer (July-August).[88] The plants were pulled up, roots and all, and laid out to dry. The seeds dropped off; those that failed to were stripped off and the grass thrown away. The seeds were brought home, stored in the storehouse.

[251]

[88] Probably the "kasin" seeds prized by other Yokuts, though this date is a little late for their ripening.

2 lbs. of acorn meal dough. -Analyst]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 190 9] Chuckchansi

412 322 ment. -- A.H.G.] The plastic material for the handle was taken from another uncooked root.

515 Soaproot was used to wash the hair, head, baskets, etc., said J.R. (Since skin clothing hardened when wet, it was not washed.) The root, when pounded, exuded a soapy juice which was then mixed with water as a washing fluid which lathered. The fibres were saved for brushes. J.R. added that, when the bulb was [362 252 171] roasted, it was "just like roasting potatoes." [The inference is that some varieties of soaproot were pit-cooked and eaten as by other Yokuts, Miwok, Pomo, etc. -- A.H.G.]

415 322 Mushstirrers were made of green chaparral [Ceanothus?], heated and bent into shape, tied with milkweed string at the neck of the loop and at the ends of the handle. Total length, as seen by Thrall, a bit over two feet. A pair of straight sticks some four feet long were used like tongs on hot cooking stones.

415 324 Cooking stones were made of soapstone, said N.W.; she called these pako'yun or halix. They were heated and dropped in acorn mush to cook it. Plain stones broke when so used and "spoiled the food."

Soapstone dishes (approximately 6 in. in diameter, 2 in. deep, with walls 1 in. thick) were made by the Chukchansi. They were used [412 322] for cooking larvae and worms.[110]

Wooden mortars were known to the Chukchansi, says Kroeber.[111]

323 The absence of pottery agrees with previous findings of Kroeber and Gayton.[112]

411 Weapons.--Plain and sinew-backed bows were made by Chukchansi (and Miwok). The sinew-backed bow was of cedar, about three feet long. Deer sinew from each side of the backbone, about 18 inches long, was glued on the back of [237] the bow. The sinews had been kept dried for this purpose. Once on the bow, it was never permitted to get wet. The bowstring was always sinew. Nevertheless, the bow was kept outside the house, according to J.R., but always unstrung when not in use. This type of bow was for hunting large game -- deer, bear, cougar, coyote, wildcat -- and for warfare.

A plain bow of mountain willow, four feet long and strung with a milkweed string, was used for everyday shooting of squirrels, gophers, rabbits, and birds. The informant J.R. maintained that the same type of arrow was used with either bow. [Doubtless the same arrow could be used, but it is unlikely that only one arrow type was used. Moreover, the flat bird arrow is mentioned in a Chukchansi myth. -- A.H.G.]

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[110] Cf. Kroeber, Handbook, 527.

[111] Ibid., 528.

[112] Ibid., 537; Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

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tu'ba: piñon nut
wa'p: cedar
sana'uap: fir
o'pa°dra: yucca ("cactus")
o'b¹: yucca blossom stalks, eaten in the bud.
wo'honaba: redwood
ye'b¹p: tamarack, grew at Big Meadows
tsa't¹p: slippery elm
napa''ap°: alder
soho'p°: cottonwood
tanapo'nip°: ash
pa'sitap: willow
s°hu'b°: small willow
se''nowiyap: elderberry bush

W
Y
372

Firemaking.---The Michahai and Waksachi made fire by striking and drilling. When flint rocks were struck, the sparks fell on a tinder of fine growth derived from oak trees (Spanish moss ?) or on rotten buckeye wood. The drill apparatus consisted of a buckeye hearth, mountain-mahogany drill, and oak-growth tinder.

Meals and Manners

W
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Meals were eaten just after sunrise, about noon, and just before sunset. The midday meal was taken only by persons in camp and was little more than the casual picking up and eating of already prepared food. A man going off from home would not take food with him unless he were to be gone more than twenty-four hours. The occupations which took men away all day usually permitted them to return in the late afternoon. When gambling and playing games, men often became so absorbed that they would not stop to eat during the day. However, between the two main meals, morning and evening, there was considerable eating of odd bits, as one wanted them, of such things as honey, piñon nuts, and cooked food left over from previous meals.

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[415]

People never ate directly from a cooking basket. The food was apportioned in smaller coiled baskets (fig. 3, Pt. I), which were usually individual. Often two or three small children would share the food in a small basket or, in very poor families, adults might have to do the same. The three middle fingers were dipped into the mushes; gruels and soups were drunk from the edge of the basket; meat and fish were torn apart with the fingers as the cook had already hacked it up with an obsidian blade before putting it on to stew; jerked meat and fish were usually cooked by boiling in pots or baskets.

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The essence of hospitality was the serving of food. The first person to recognize an approaching visitor called to him to come and eat. Custom required that a visitor go first to the chief's house, where he was given food; no one necessarily ate with him unless a meal were in course. Then, unless he were a winatum whose business kept him with the chief, he was called

[P. 225b] NS 25

W Y 285 192 It may be worth noting that, in Michahai at least, there is a special term for the coiling technique, but none for twining; hence, li ʰ·li na (coil I [my coiled basket]) and ti ʻi ʻsi na (make I [any kind of basket twined or coiled]).

W Y 285 192 415 Coiled ware.---1. o ʻsa (Michahai, Wukchumni, Waksachi). This is called "bank" in English, as money, sacred talismans, or any sort of treasure was kept in them. D. said the snake doctors kept their pets in these while in captivity for the Snake Ritual (usually they were kept in cages of open-twined basketry).

2. a ʻmat (Michahai), kača ʻo (Wukchumni), a ʻpo (Waksachi). This was an individual eating and drinking dish. When made with curved sides, it was used by women as a cap under the tumpline.

W Y [292 482] 2a. pi ʻkwo¹ (Waksachi). The woman's basket cap, according to B.O It was never donned save for use under the tumpline.

3. a ʻoki (Michahai). A modern shape which is said to have been invented to keep bread in; in English it is called "bread basket." D. was firm in her statement, which is corroborated by independent Wukchumni information, that it was never used for keeping acorns or any other purpose. Yet it closely resembles the large coiled baskets used for washing and as gifts at rituals. Water was kept in similar baskets for household use.

4. koiyo ʻto (Michahai, Wukchumni). The circular sifting tray, which was about two feet in diameter.

W Y [524] 5. tai ʻwan (Michahai). A circular gambling tray used in the women's dice game. It might be two to three feet in diameter and was distinguished from the sifting tray by its more sharply curved sides and superior decoration.

Twined ware.---6. po· ʻno (Michahai), tapono ʻči (Waksachi). This was the cooking basket. The traditional and only decoration of these was four horizontal bands of redbud. The basic material was called taka ʻti (Michahai; sourberry, D.; chaparral brush, B.O.). When seeds were stored in the house, they were put in baskets of this type and covered with a coiled flat traylike cover called uti ʻʻi (Michahai).

W Y [482] 7. a ʻnaš (Michahai), wo· ʻno (Waksachi). The burden basket, carried by tumpline on the back, was twined of takati and starched with soaproot (to ʻhod, Michahai) liquor.

8. ča ʻphai (Michahai), ta ʻmyuk (Wukchumni), ta neho (Waksachi). This name was used for the handled seed-beater or for a basket of the same shape without the handle. The latter was used as a sieve or for any other purpose for which it proved convenient.

8a. A larger coarser, unhandled variant of the above, also called čaphai, was used exclusively for catching and carrying fish.

W Y [231] 9. Cages of open twine weave were used to house pigeons, rattlesnakes, and possibly other small pets. These had pointed bottoms, were covered with a lid, and hung from trees.

1: Gayton F-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.226 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 323

Pottery

Pottery was well known to the Michahai and Waksachi; in fact, all informants thought that "everybody" had it and that "all women" knew how to make it.[164] B.O. said the Eastern Mono had it also. The earthenware was called ki´wič (clay) by Michahai and wi´šowa (clay) by Waksachi. There were no special names for dishes of different shapes, all being called merely big or little dish (wu´pi kiwič, wi´či kiwič, Michahai; popai´ wišowa, tiči´ti wišowa, Waksachi). All the ware was flat-bottomed and straight-sided, and roughly of three sizes, large bucketlike containers for boiling, medium individual serving dishes comparable to the individual serving baskets, and small somewhat spherical dishes used as cups or scoops. The latter are probably not copies of European cups since no handle nor curvature is ever attempted. B.O. firmly stated that food was never eaten directly from the clay dishes, always from baskets. D. and S.O. could not agree, but admitted that baskets were the customary food dishes. Pottery was prized, and probably no woman would trust the dishes in children's hands. S.O. thought the average family would have about two large cook pots and five smaller ones.

W Y 323 415

W Y [462]

Men never made pottery but, if a man came upon a good clay bed, he might take some home to be made up (S.O.). There was an abundance of good clay at Tušao; women of Čitatu liked to go to Daley's place for theirs.

W Y 323

The clay was tested between the fingers for sand element (the binding), as no extraneous binding, not even free sand, was added. The clay was pounded while damp on rock with a special pestle, and when viscous was ready to make up. The bottom was pressed out between the palms (D. and S.O.), coiled (B.O.), into a disc and the sides built up with additional coils. A little water was kept at hand to add to the clay if it became too dry. The inside and outside were scraped smooth. The raw pots were left in the sun to dry all day, or even longer if necessary: they must be dry all the way through before firing. These informants did not know of any "test" for predicting safe firing (see Wukchumni). Meanwhile wood was burning in a small pit so that it would be thoroughly heated and partially filled with coals. The ware was heated at the fireside before being put directly on the coals. More wood was drawn over the top and the whole left to burn all night. A woman had to rise once or twice during the night to see that all was well. No slip of mush or other material was applied after firing (or at any time) according to these informants (see Wukchumni).

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[164] The pottery-making process and pottery shapes are described and illustrated in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS PLANT FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

252 262 The buckeye process, which was probably similar to usages elsewhere in the State, was the following: The nuts were broken with a stone and soaked in water for a day. Next, the kernels were crushed to powder with the pestle. The last step was the extraction of the poison, which was done in the acorn-leaching place by the creek. Each time the flour dried a stick was laid aside; the pourings were so timed that the tenth stick was taken as the sun was nearly setting. The woman then cooked the flourlike acorn mush, and it was usually consumed on the spot.

The digger pine nut was not only eaten whole and raw but often treated like small seeds, being winnowed in a scoop-shaped basket, [251 343] pounded into flour, and cooked.

Acorn granaries were of Miwok and Maidu type. There is no record of their occurrence south of the Yokuts.

Small shallow cook pots of soft stone, perhaps steatite, though described as reddish, were used by the Chukchansi and no doubt irregularly by other tribes who had access to a suitable supply of material. [415 324] They were dug out with quartz. *Kuyati* and *kulonun* grubs, and angleworms, were perhaps stewed in these vessels, or more likely fried in their own fat at the edge of the fire.

[415 177] The paddle for stirring boiling acorn mush is not a Yokuts implement, the central Miwok being the most southerly group among whom it makes its regular appearance until southern California is reached. The Yokuts substitute a stick looped on itself, a less efficient stirrer but more serviceable for removing the cooking stones, and far more readily made. (Fig. 38.)

THE MORTAR.

412 The mortar was a pit in an outcrop of granite, used until the depth of the hole became inconvenient. A convenient exposure of bedrock near a village often contains dozens of holes in all stages of wear within a few yards. (Pl. 45.) Poles leaned together with brush thrown on made an arbor under which a group of women would work for hours, gossiping or singing. Their pestles were often left on the spot; they are rude, irregular, with little taper, and somewhat oval in cross section, even with one or two sides flat or concave; in fact, little more than longish river bowlders, somewhat shaped, partly by pecking with the edge of a flat cobble, and in part by continued usage.

On the alluvial plains portable mortars were necessary. The most common form of these among the Tachi was one of white oak. The flat-bottomed wooden block was little more than a foot high, half

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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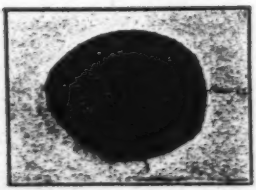

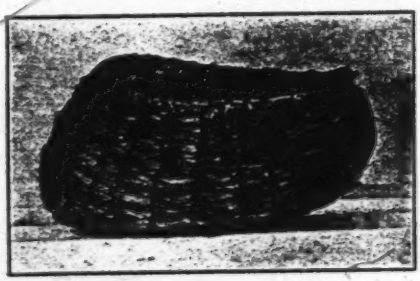

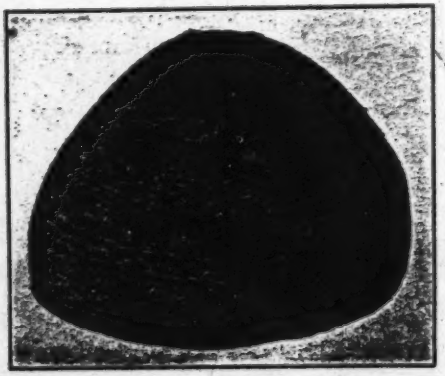

YOKUTS BASKETRY

a, Yokuts shouldered basketa with fringe of mountain quail plumes; b, tray for suspension; c, soft basket of tules; d, seed beater or tray; e, diagonally twined winnower or tray

[p. 530(B)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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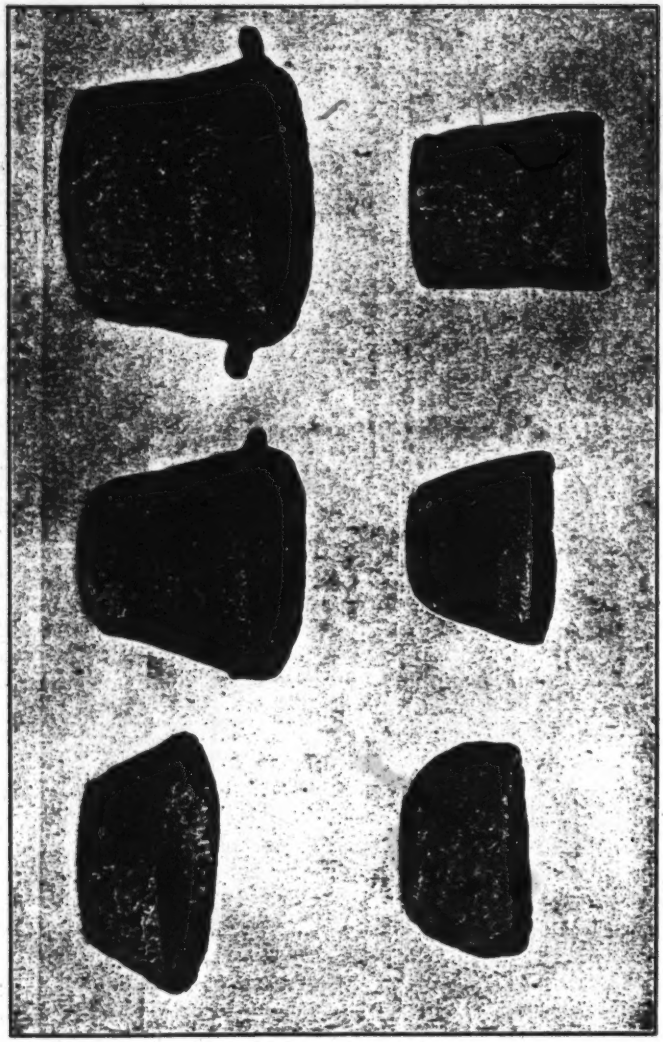

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

BULLETIN 78 PLATE 51

YOKUTS POTTERY

[p. 530(C)]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[45]
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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of T'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush.

[252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*.

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Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auburn roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water.

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs.

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings.

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it.

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place.

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo).

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lemon Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E, MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

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101 the village of *Altau,* now known as Rancheria. On the north
103 bank of Kern River proper, in the extreme south-eastern cor-
131 ner of Paleuyami territory, was situated the village of *Shoko.*
361 On the road leading west, and about three and one-half miles below Woody, in Paleuyami territory, is an old spring named *Chawlul Ilkow,* or White Water. It was used as a stopping place on the old trail which led from Poso Creek via Willow Springs, Coyote Springs and Fountain Springs to Tule River.

[415] About a mile below Chawlul Ilkow and within a few feet of the present road there are some flat granite outcroppings which have many Indian mortars cut into them. In the gulch below are some cottonwood and willow trees. The village there was known as *Lapah Ilkow,* or Cottonwood Water. About one-fourth mile south are two large springs. This site was named *Lip'-trow* because of a medicinal root of that name which was harvested there.

[487] The old Indian trail from Poso Flats east to Little Poso was known as *Walwalu* (Wahl-wahl'-oo). It lay about one mile southwest of the present road and was parallel to it.

Rag Gulch was called *Baake* (Ba-a'-ke). At a fine spring on lower Rag Gulch, below Willow Springs, was a village of the same name.

Three miles southwest of the Long Tom Mine in Paleuyami territory was a village named *Wahkoiu* (Wah-koy'-oo).

Sansanu (Sahn-sahn'-oo) was the name of the bald ridge west of the junction of Poso and Little Poso. A village at the forks went by the same name. Poso Creek was known as Siketepo. Little Poso Creek was known as *Kawlkalu* (Kawl-kah'-loo). A village at the old Burke Ranch on Little Poso Creek, was known by the same name as the creek. *Hawewel* was a small hill just west of Altau where the Paleuyami mined a red earth paint pigment called *Haweyu.*

South of the Paleuyami, on lower Kern River, and probably as far south at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, were the Yowlumne (Yowl-um'-ne). On the old channels of Kern River, probably within the present city limits of Bakersfield, was the Yowlumne village of *Woilo.* This tribe is treated more completely in a separate chapter.

On the southeastern shore of Tulare Lake about the mouths of Poso Creek and White River, and occupying the island in that lake which was later known as Atwell Island, were the

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Yowlumne

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CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

101 131 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every direction from their central village, *Woilu*, located about where now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield. Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their [224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight [103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin*, or Place Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

361 103 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e), on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by [415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu*, meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu*, Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu*.

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A typical Yokuts camp. In the foreground is the firepit and the woodpile for outside cooking. In front of the house is the universal tule-mat shade. The oblong tule covered house has a slot shaped smoke hole directly over the door. Beneath the smoke hole is the firepit for indoor cooking and heating. The ends of the house are round. Wahumchah, eighty-five years of age and last surviving full-blood man from the Yowlumne tribe, appears at the left. He lived in such a house until he was sixteen years of age. He supervised the construction of this camp.

lashed together. These houses were probably not larger than ten by eighteen feet. As in the case of the other temporary houses this house was also covered with tules and was called *Che.*

On Tule River the *Yaudanchi* built their winter house of tules in a cone shape. The house had a hoop at the top to which the poles of the leaning framework were attached and which left an opening for the smoke arising from the fire pit directly below.

[285] The framework was covered by sewn tule mats. The houses were placed in rows with brush covered shades in front. These Yaudanchi houses more nearly approached the tepee of the plains Indians than any other Yokuts houses. The Yaudanchi also built a larger house, which had a ridge, two fire places, and a door at each end; but we have no details of the construction.

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Weh-puk'-in and He'-we-un showing the interior of a Yokuts tule-thatched house and a bed. A shallow pit is filled with loose tules and covered with a tule mat. Covers consist of a doubled rabbit-skin blanket. Hanging from the house frame is a twined and a tule chewmish, or all-purpose hanging baskets. The large basket at the left shows kots, or obsidian arrow point. The one at the front right shows quail, arrow point and anta.

and meats and fish were suspended from the framework of the house overhead. In addition to these things was the usual collection of wild animal skins, prepared basketry materials, fiber for making string, and any amount of other raw materials from which were to be prepared the various articles necessary to the life of the Indians.

"At every permanent village occupied by two or three hundred Indians, there were probably from four or five to as many as a dozen of these larger semi-permanent houses. They were usd for ten or twelve years, or until there was a death in the family, at which time the Indians burned the house in which the death occurred."

Often a sick or aged person was carried outside to die, so that it would not be necessary to burn the house. In 1937, *Ichow*, last Chief of the *Wukchumne*, died of dropsy after several days of exposure under a broiling July sun, because he

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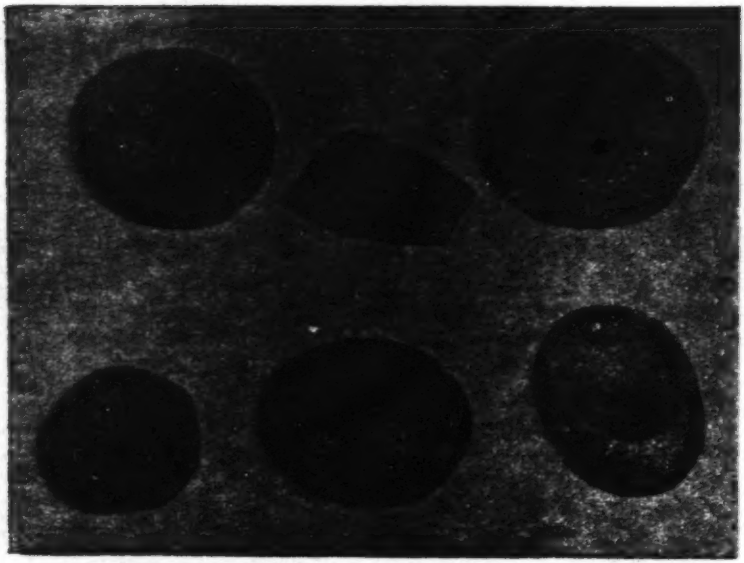

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It was probably because the Yokuts had access to several deposits of steatite that they did not develop the art of pottery making. The above steatite cooking vessels were placed directly in the fire. Top center and lower left are frying pans. Top left and right are large closed pots, holding about three gallons and used for boiling and stewing. The two lower right are shallow, open cooking vessels. Aged Yokuts have stated that meat, greens, acorns, mushrooms and other fungi were cooked in such vessels.

had been taken sick in a white man's house and the family knew they could not burn it.

361 In many places where cultivation has not destroyed them, the remains of these houses are even yet to be found along the banks of streams and lakes throughout the entire San Joaquin Valley. At one village site near what was once the northwestern shore of Tulare Lake and described in a former chapter, the writer just a few days before this manuscript went to press counted the ruins of more than twenty of these houses.

221 During the acorn and other seed seasons, with the exception
342 of a few old persons, the Indians were likely to leave the permanent village and live for a month or more at temporary camp sites near the ripening seeds. Consequently, during the major portion of the time, when the most of the Indian population was

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dians. This same stone was used as a rubbing stone and was generally flat on opposite sides. The ends were kept rough by pounding them with a jagged rock. This was done so that the mano would not slip off of the acorn while it was being hulled. 252 412

A second rock was often used in the hulling, it being embedded in the soil in front of the worker and having drilled in it one or more shallow holes. The acorn was placed upright with the point in this hole and the large end struck with the rough end of the mano. A slight tap was sufficient to break the hull loose, and it fell away from the acorn. The hulled acorns were placed in a basket, the process being carried on until several gallons of hulled acorns had been obtained.

The sweet valley acorn had a very thin hull, which often split while drying. It was not necessary to crack them with a mano. The cracked hulls were pulled off with the fingers. The other hulls were removed with the teeth. As these acorns were badly eaten by moth larva, they were smoked after being hulled. Holes were drilled in them. They were then strung on hemp strings like beads and hung from the inner framework of of the house where the smoke from the fire prevented the moths from depositing their eggs. The acorns were next taken to a mortar. These mortars, along the streams, often existed in the large earth-bound rocks, and remain today as almost the sole evidence of many Indian village sites. 252 [412]

Away from earth-bound rocks, portable stone mortars were used. Some of these were excavated in very rough boulders. Others were nicely shaped inside and out. A few were so finely shaped and polished as to appear to have been made on a potter's wheel. In primeval days many wooden mortars were used. Pioneer white San Joaquin Valley settlers tell us that when they arrived in Yokuts territory the trunks and large limbs of fallen oak trees were cut full of holes where the Indians pounded acorns. A double handful of acorns was thrown in the mortars, which the Indians called *puk'-wus. Pahd'-ah-we*, the pestle, a slender stone, was grasped between the hands and the end brought down on top of the acorns. Repeated blows pulverized the greater portion of the acorns, which, by reason of curing in the granary, were dry and brittle. 252 412

Sifting of the pounded acorns was done with a flat tray called *ki-o'-to*. The powdered material was brushed from the mortar onto the tray by means of *tro'-kote*, a brush made of 252 415

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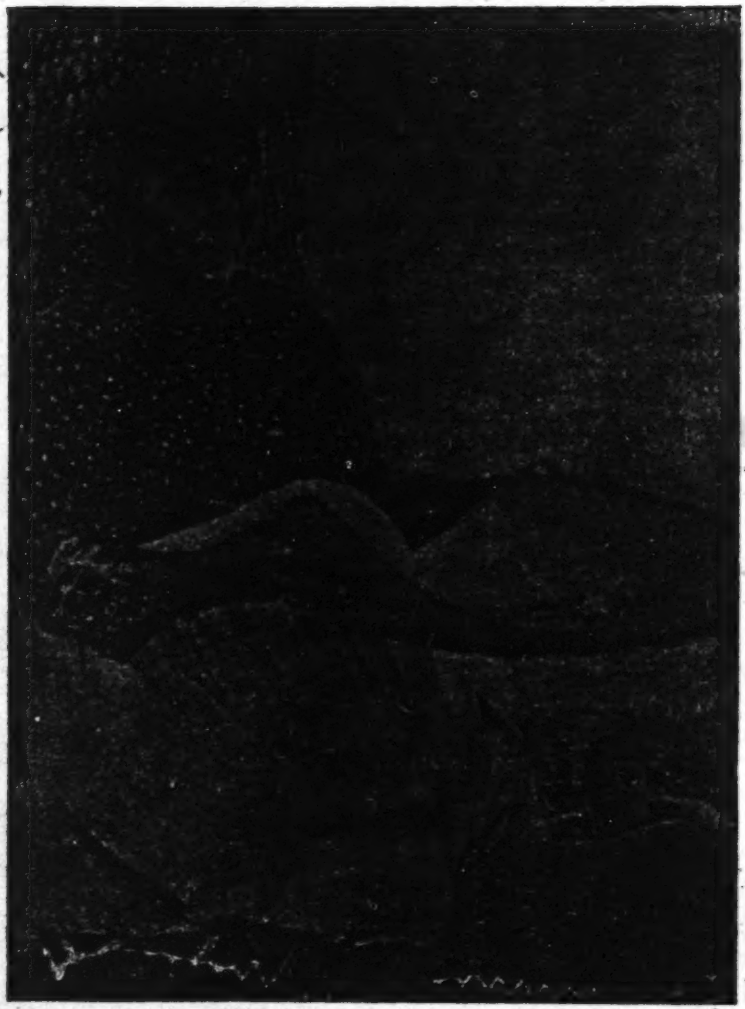

A Chulumnisa woman preparing to pound acorns. Photo taken about 1900 by Mrs. A. D. Overholtzer, of Squaw Valley Corners.

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Wuh-puk'-in showing how acorn flour is leached. A shallow basin is scooped in the sand of a stream bed and lined with wild grapevine leaves. It is then filled with acorn flour. Hot water is poured over the flour until the bitterness has been leached into the sand below. The water is poured on a grass brush so that the flour will not be washed away.

soap-root husk. The tray was held with the edge over the mortar and shaken.

The coarse particles rolled into the mortar and the fine material remained on the tray. The fine material was shaken into a separate basket. This process was repeated until the acorns were reduced to a powder of about the consistency of coarse flour. This was then taken to the stream, where the bitter tannin was leached from it. 252

A hole was made in the sand, by the stream, lined with leaves, generally from the wild grapevines, and the acorn flour poured into it. Water was heated in a separate basket by means of hot rocks and poured over the flour. This process was repeated several times, the flour being tasted for sweetness after

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Leached acorn flour and equipment for handling acorns. Foreground: Cakes of leached acorn flour, resting in a sand basin, lined with grapevine leaves.

Center, left to right: First: A grass brush over which the hot leaching water is poured. It prevents the flour being washed away when the water is poured.

Second: A soaproot husk brush used in brushing flour from mortars and for many purposes about an Indian camp.

Third: A looped acorn mush stirrer. It is made of a green oak limb and is used for stirring the cooking mush and for removing the cooking rocks from the mush and replacing them in the fire.

Fourth: An acorn flour sifting tray with a cake of leached acorn flour on it.

Rear: Cooking baskets; at the left is shown a lightning pattern, at the right the gopher snake pattern in a milkweed fiber carrying net.

each leaching. Count of the leachings was sometimes kept by laying aside a short stick each time. Leaching was quite successful in removing the bitterness, even from the most bitter mountain acorns.

The leaching being done, the material was covered with a piece of deer skin (*hoey'-is chud'-way*) and left to harden. After it had dried, the cake, or loaf, was lifted from its bed, the leaves removed from the bottom of it, and it was taken to the house.

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Wah-puk'-in showing the method of heating water and cooking acorn gruel with hot rocks. Rocks are removed from the fire with green wooden tongs and dipped quickly into the small basket of water at the right. The resulting flash of steam removes the coating of ashes and burned acorn gruel. The rock is then dropped into the large basket of water or acorn gruel and is stirred about with the looped acorn stirrer. When the rock has lost its heat it is lifted from the basket in the loop of the stirrer and replaced in the fire. The design on the basket at the left shows "coming night." The one at the right shows "measuring worm."

At the present time we find the Indians lining the holes in the sand with cloth, generally an empty sugar sack, but we are assured by most old Indians and pioneer whites that in early days only leaves were used.

It is of particular interest to note here that *Wahumchah* is positive that the old-time *Yowlumne* lined the leaching holes in the sand with cloth. As the southern Kern County tribes *did* make cloth, it is more than probable that his statement is correct.

Much acorn bread was eaten raw from the loaf. As needed, pieces were broken off and given to the children, or eaten by their elders. [264]

From this cake was made a thick acorn soup, or mush. By the Wukchumne Yokuts it was called *ta'-pin*. To make this

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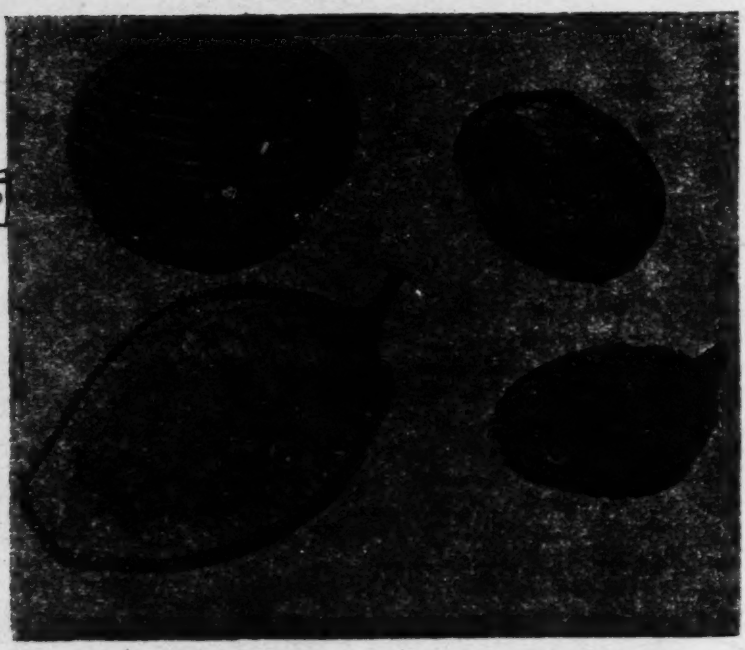

Four Yokuts harvesting and camp wicker utensils. The two at the top are *tuh'-mouhs* or simple collanders. Those at the bottom are seed beaters. With one of these in the right hand a woman was able to beat the seeds of oats, wild rice and other standing grasses into a large wide mouthed basket held under her left arm.

mush, the cake was pulverized in a mortar and placed in a basket. Water was added, and the whole cooked quite thoroughly by means of hot rocks (*chak-toy'-tuh*). The rocks were placed in the basket by means of two green sticks used as tongs and removed from it by a looped stick (*shi'-ow*) which was also used to stir the soup. When first removed from the fire by means of the green tongs, the rocks were quickly dipped in a basket of water. The flash of steam caused by this removed from the surface of the hot rock most of the ashes and burned acorn meal with which they were coated. The Wukchumne used soapstone cooking rocks, claiming they were superior to any others. Much of the cooked mush was allowed to harden into a loaf, or cake, of bread.

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BLACKBERRY JAM

Many persons, including those who have lived near San Joaquin Valley Indians, appear skeptical when told that blackberry jam was a common dish among those peoples. Wild blackberry vines covered the river bottoms in patches several acres in extent and climbed many yards above the ground. I have been informed by Kaweah River pioneers that single primeval blackberry thickets covered as much as five acres and climbed about through the willows so that a mounted man could ride under them. They were favorite hiding places for grizzly bears, so I have been told by aged Yokuts Indian women, and it was customary to take dogs into a thicket when beginning to pick berries. Said *Ah-kah-dih'-nim,* an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "The dogs chewed the bear's hind legs while we ran to camp."

The berries are ripe during the month of June. Along the Kaweah, shortly after it leaves the foothills, and at one or two other places where the vines have not been killed by burning, they are still loaded with ripe berries at that time.

The wild blackberry is not unlike the tame one. It is smaller and a little sharper in taste. But when they are completely ripened the berries are as sweet as tame berries and of much better flavor. This wild blackberry was an important staple among the Yokuts Indians, who called it *mah-mid.*

Descriptions of the gathering and curing of these berries still form one of the most interesting accounts of Yokuts food preparation. Two utensils, or containers, are utilized in gathering berries. The first container is an acorn shaped basket about six inches in diameter and ten or twelve inches in depth. It is rounded at the bottom and fitted with a deer-skin handle much like the bail of a bucket. The Indians call this basket *chaw'-much.* It is suspended from the neck, and is one of the most convenient utensils used by the Indians, as it leaves both hands free for gathering berries.

In addition to the chawmuch, a hooked stick is used in pulling the blackberry vines within the reach of the worker, and in forcing them apart so that berries underneath may be reached. The chawmuch having been filled, it is emptied into a shallow wicker basket, or colander, called *tah'-meuk.*

After the tahmeuk is filled it is emptied into the burden basket which is then carried to the rancheria in much the same

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The material used in stitching to produce the red portion of the designs is prepared from redbud (Cercis Occidentalis). This is the beautiful shrub of the Sierra which is covered with magenta colored blossoms during the months of March and April. The outer wood is stripped from the slender shoots of redbud. These strips are a permanent red on the outside. Their color greatly resembles manzanita bark. The Yokuts name for this material is *ah'-nup*.

Some basketry designs make use of black stitching material. This is the root of the bracken fern (Pteridium Aquilinum) and is the only basketry material which is artificially colored by the Yokuts. It was necessary for the valley Yokuts tribes to secure this root by trade. The root of the fern was stripped into thin pieces. Some reports state that the pieces were then buried in the dark mud of a spring for several weeks. In discussing the coloring of the fern roots with the Wukchumne I found that they used a different method. They boiled the root in a quantity of black mud from the sloughs, or tule swamps. This produced a dead black, which is quite permanent.

I have collected pieces of ancient burial baskets which had been exposed to light for at least seventy years, to find the red and black of the designs almost as bright as those of recent work. The Yokuts call the black stitching material *muh-no'-kits*.

The awl used in stitching was made from the shin bone of a deer. One bone was split and two awls made from it. When completed they were from seven to nine inches long. From time to time the tip of the awl was broken. A new point was formed by whetting the bone on a piece of sandstone. When the length of the awl was reduced to about three inches it was discarded. The Yokuts call this awl *bah'-oak*.

YOKUTS WICKER AND TWINED BASKETS

In addition to the *ahketse* (ah-keet'-se), or baby cradle, the Yokuts tribes made several receptacles of wicker construction. The material used was either young black willow or cottonwood shoots. The *Wukchumne* say that young cottonwood shoots are better than willow, that they do not become so brittle with age.

The most common wicker-work utensil is a sort of colander, or sieve. This is used in sifting the chaff of the dried salt grass after it has been flailed, and in separating trash and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 leaves from many food stuffs. The Wukchumne call this sieve
415 *tah'-meuk.* The tahmeuk is also used to drain many foodstuffs in much the same way that the modern colander is used. I have seen Yokuts women washing mustard greens and fungus growths in the tahmeuk. The common shape of this interesting utensil is elliptical. It varies greatly in size. Some are as long as two feet and some less than eighteen inches. They are from ten to sixteen inches across the middle and from four to six inches in depth.

285 When ready for use the cottonwood shoots used are about one eighth inch in diameter. They are spaced from one sixteenth to one eighth of an inch apart. Near the ends of the tahmeuk the shoots are drawn closely together. About the edge of the whole is lashed a rim composed of a cottonwood wythe about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. The ends are moistened and then pounded with a stone. They are doubled under the rim and lashed in place with *hupud* (hoo'-pud).

The small shoots are twined together with hupud at intervals of about one inch. This construction produces an extremely light, but durable utensil. The tahmeuk is still used extensively among the remaining Yokuts.

285 A seed beater which greatly resembles the tahmeuk is also
412 widely used. It differs most in that it is fitted with a handle at one end. The handle is formed by lashing together the projecting cottonwood shoots, instead of bending them under, as is done in making the tahmeuk. This utensil is called *yah-*
[222] *mah'-he tah'-meuk.* It is used to beat the seeds of dry grasses and shrubs into a basket. In this way one *moke* (mo'-ke), or Indian woman, can gather several hundred pounds of seeds in a day.

285 At least two types of baskets are made by twining, instead of stitching. The most interesting of these is a practical receptacle for use in gathering blackberries. This basket is pear shaped, about five inches across the mouth, six inches across the largest portion near the bottom and eight to nine inches in depth. It is fitted with a buckskin handle which is long enough to pass over the head, allowing the basket to be suspended from the neck and to hang slightly above the waist.

[222 This arrangement leaves both hands free for gathering
48] blackberries and speeds up the work considerably. The Indian woman can crawl through the blackberry vines, draw them

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Wahsomket about 1928. In her right hand she holds a basket made to be suspended from the neck, leaving both hands free to pick blackberries. Leaning against her is a boy's baby cradle. In her left hand is the flexible cradle, made before the child is born and for use until the other is completed.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

285 [222] 481] within reach with a hooked stick, and rapidly pass the berries into the basket.

They call the blackberry basket *chaw'-mish*. It is built upon a foundation of cottonwood twigs and is formed by twining. The cottonwood twigs extend upright. The twining materials were looped about them and passed around the basket from the bottom to the top. The materials used in stitched work are also used for this twining. The tan hupud is the principal material, although bands of red are used to decorate the basket. The red material is the ahnup described before. In an emergency such baskets are quickly fabricated of tules.

285 415 [353] During the season when the baskets are not in use for gathering blackberries they are used about the Indian houses as containers for materials of all sorts. They are generally hung from the ceilings or walls, and in them you will find much the same sort of materials that you will find in a sewing basket among white people. There will be odds and ends of stitching materials, small strings, worn out bone awls, stones for sharpening the awls, periwinkle shells, bits of abalone shell, beads, soaproot brushes and other such articles too numerous to mention. Rattlesnake doctors even collected their rattlesnakes in them. They are one of the most useful utensils made by the Yokuts.

A twined burden basket is used for gathering acorns and for carrying all sorts of other materials. This basket is made in the shape of a cone, being pointed at the lower end, about two feet deep, and eighteen inches across the mouth. The lower point is generally reenforced by an extra layer of twining material, or a piece of buckskin. The twining of the basket is done in the same manner and the design is applied in the same way as in making the blackberry basket. They call this basket *ahng'-ush*.

[227] In gathering acorns the Indian women stand the ahngush against a log or tree, or place the point of the cone in a squirrel hole. The acorns are gathered and placed in another basket. They are then emptied into the burden basket. When the burden basket is filled it is placed in a string carrying-net much like a fish net, or it is supported upon the back of the Indian [482] woman only by means of a strap passed across her forehead. In some tribes the word for load, or burden, is *shaw'-nil*.

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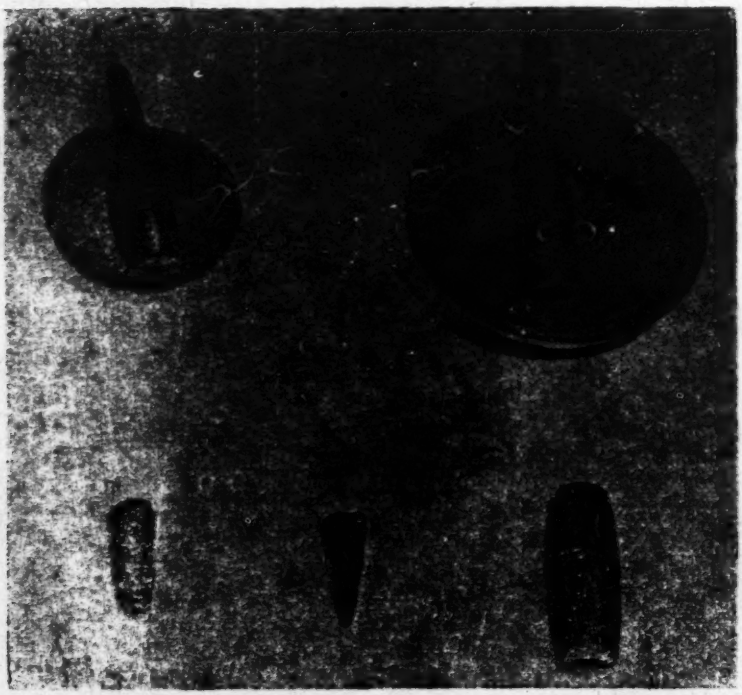

Top left is a steatite bowl, five inches in diameter, and pestle used for many generations by the Yowlumne tribe of Yokuts for preparing the tea used in their Jimson-weed Initiation Ceremony. Top right is a fine sandstone Jimson-weed Ceremonial bowl and pestle used for many years in Tejon Canyon by Comeltno Indians who had migrated from near Carpinteria. Below, left, is a steatite tobacco pipe from the site of Alpaugh in Tulare Lake; center, a clay tobacco pipe from the Broder mound six miles east of Visalia; right, a steatite medicine tube from the Sweet mound near Waukena.

abstinence. By this time the young men were weak from fasting and in such a mental state as to be easily impressed and influenced,

The Jimson weed was prepared by an old man of the tribe by pounding the roots in a special mortar preserved for that purpose. From the pulp thus prepared was brewed a strong tea. When this preparation was completed the tea was taken to the young men who had been living during their week of fasting in the sweathouse. There they listened to a long discourse by the

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Yokuts bottle-neck baskets used by Rattlesnake Doctors for holding their rattlesnakes. The three baskets at the top carry the rattlesnake design. Lower left: Coral king snake design with water skaters. Lower center: Gopher snake design with ant trails around the neck. Lower right: Gopher snake design.

ment. The water skater is a mythological messenger, or *Winatun*. The Yokuts story is that once a bad rattlesnake sent to Tihpiknits the names of some good people with the result that they died. The quail learned what had been done. They told the water skaters, who carried the word to the ants and the ants stung the rattlesnake to death and ate him. Placed on rattlesnake baskets, these characters are a subtle warning to all rattlesnakes.

The Yokuts Rattlesnake Dance was a spring ceremony. 796
It was performed for the purpose of overcoming the supernatural power of the rattlesnake, as well as to insure against snake bites during the coming summer. Although the actual practices during the ceremony varied somewhat between Tejon Canyon and the San Joaquin River, one hundred and fifty miles to the north, the objectives and the ceremonies themselves were similar.

Believing that the statements of aged Indians who participated in rattlesnake dances would be of most interest to readers, I shall devote most of the remainder of this chapter to such

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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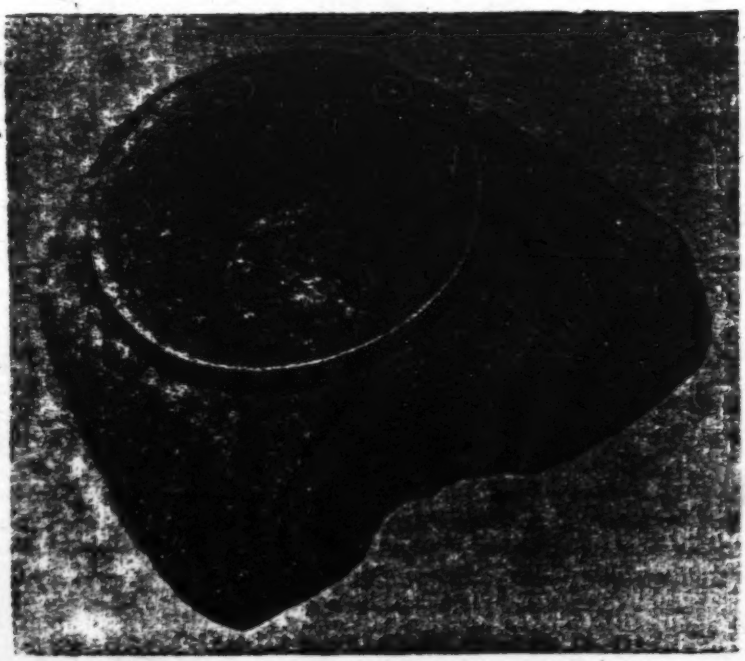

A Wukchumne Yokuts wooden mortar with basket hopper.

159
251 The valley acorns would not keep very well. We could not store them in granaries like we did the mountain acorns. We had to take off the hulls as soon as we gathered them. Then we drilled holes in them and put them on strings. We hung the strings of acorns in the house. We thought that it was the smoke that kept the worms from eating them.

159
412 My people used some rock mortars to pound seeds in, but they used lots of wooden mortars, too. My mother had a big wooden mortar when I was a little girl.

When an oak tree would fall down the Chunut women would take the bark off of the trunk and make mortars in the top of it. They used coals to burn holes in it. I remember lots of trees with three or four mortars in them. The women would sit on the tree trunk and pound acorns and seeds.

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592 In the long tule house each family had its own door. You could not go through the next place unless you knew it was all

•Y
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•415
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5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

[P. 244(E)]

a b c d

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25
• Y
W
• 415
323

a b

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[p. 2 of 5]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25
Y
W
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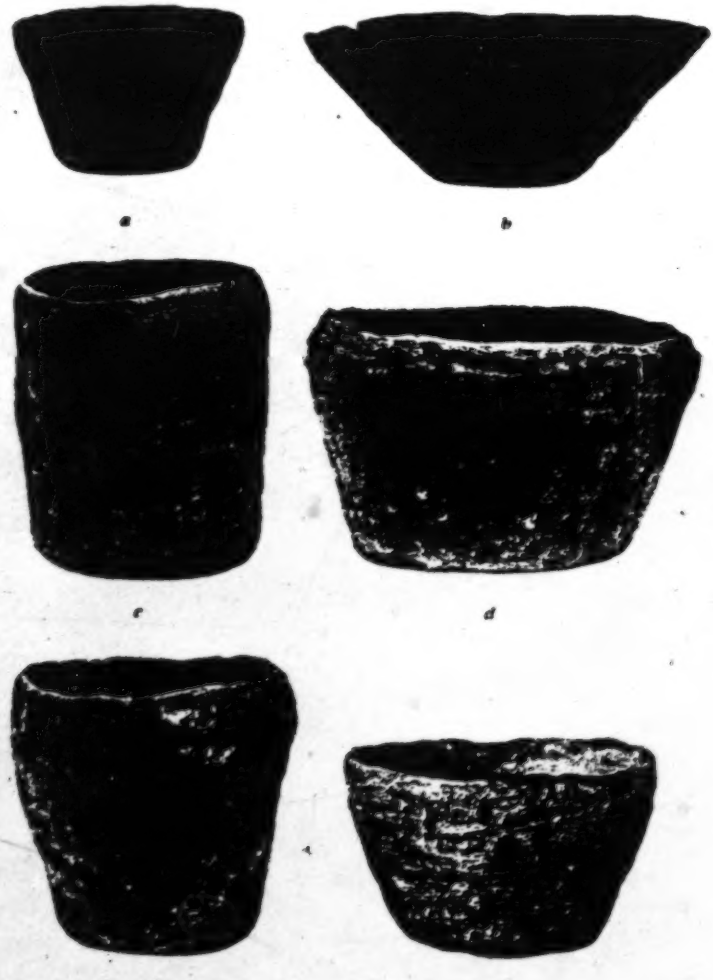

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY
(Field Museum of Natural History)

[p. 244(G)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts

Western Mono

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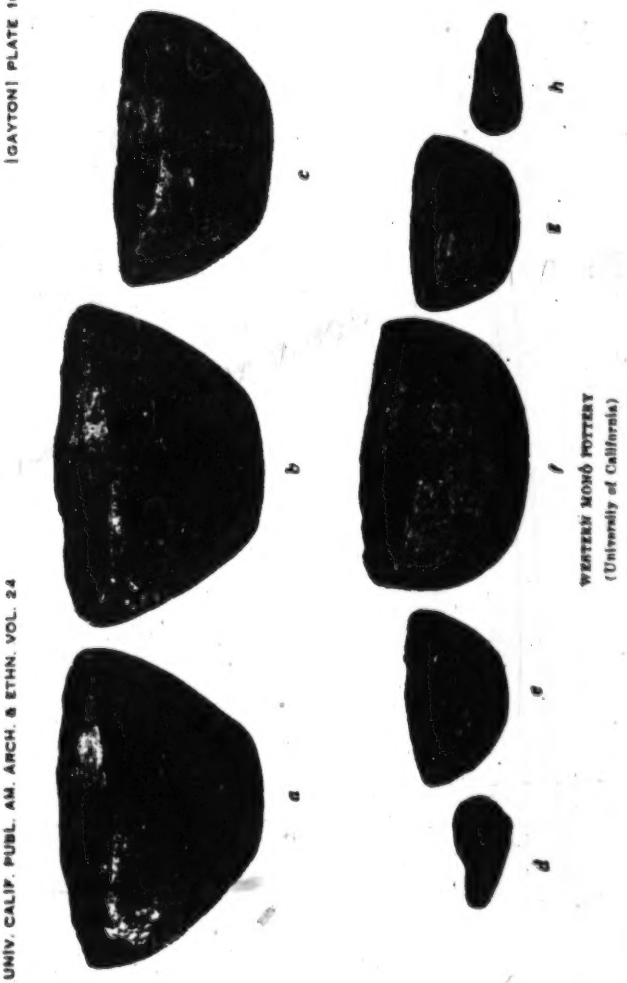

[p. 244(H)]

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y W 323 [531]

decoration. No slip or painted ornamentation was ever applied. An occasional piece was decorated with a row of thumb-nail scratches around the exterior of the rim; a small bowl in the Barrett collection is decorated with a crude geometric pattern pricked into the clay.[8]

The color of the finished ware is dull red, or murky gray to red if unevenly fired. The color of the ware after it has been in use is dark gray to black: the rough surface absorbs dirt from handling, and pots used as cooking vessels become blackened from smoke. The unfired clay used by the Wobonuch was dark gray but became dull red after the firing process. In notes with his collection Barrett mentions a yellow clay as the most satisfactory variety for pottery. Red clay which occurs in the region was not used for pottery.

Y ● W 323 415 ●

There seems to have been a standardization of shapes, or at least a tendency toward it. The majority of specimens have flat bottoms and curveless sides which flare slightly. The rims are vertical or even slightly incurved: this may be due to the final pinching and smoothing of the rim clay rather than to the deliberate intention of the potter. Among the thirty-four specimens, on which this description is based, the following deviations from the standard shapes occur: four round-bottomed bowls with curved sides; one flat-bottomed, low, oval bowl; and one flat-bottomed bell-shaped bowl.

The heights of the specimens vary from 23 to 204 mm., and roughly fall into four groups: (*a*) 5 specimens from 23 to 49 mm. high; (*b*) 17, from 64 to 105 mm.; (*c*) 7, from 135 to 156 mm.; and (*d*) 5, from 171 to 204 mm. This agrees rather well with informants' descriptions of three sizes of ware which they describe as (*a*) small bowls used for dippers, (*b*) a medium size used for holding food and soaking basket materials, and (*c*) a large size for cooking which varied with the size of a family (this probably refers to such specimens as those in the last two groups, *c* and *d*). Although the Yokuts and Western Mono distinguished these sizes they were not defined in native nomenclature by specific names. All pottery vessels were called ki'wic (Yokuts) or wina'bi (Western Mono)—literally, clay.[9] Large and small vessels were simply called big or little ki'wic (wina'bi).

[8] Respectively, specimens 1-10890, 1-10892, Museum of Anthropology, University of California.

[9] This is somewhat analogous to our own use of tin, silver, linen, for objects made of these materials, though we have specific designations as well.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Museum numbers, provenience, and dimensions of specimens illustrated.

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Plate 95.—*a*, Wobonuch potter testing clay after preparatory pounding; *b*, same rolling first rope to set in base of pot.

Plate 96.—*a*, method of building pot from clay rope; *b*, potter smoothing coils with chip of wood.

Plate 97.—*a*, finishing surface with steatite polishing stone; *b*, Wobonuch method of separating fine and coarse particles of pulverized dry clay.

Plate 98.—*a*, dried pots heating before firing; *b*, two pots undergoing firing, two pipes in foreground being heated.

Plate 99.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Small bowls: *a*, 71196, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 76 mm. height, 114 mm. diam.; *b*, 71197, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 76 mm. height, 111 mm. diam.; medium-sized receptacles: *c*, 71242, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 89 mm. height, 152 mm. diam. at opening; *d*, 70319, Mono, José Basin, Fresno county, 96 mm. height, 157 mm. diam. at opening.

Plate 100.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Cook pot: *a*, 70616, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 203 mm. height, 203–213 mm. diam. from ear to ear. Atypically shaped receptacle: *b*, 71195, Mono, Millwood, Fresno county, 152 mm. height, 162 mm. diam.

Plate 101.—Yokuts and Western Mono pottery, Field Museum of Natural History. Medium-sized receptacles: *a*, 70843, Yokuts, Dunlap, Fresno county, 82 mm. height, 133–139 mm. diam.; *b*, 70856, Yokuts, Little Sandy, Fresno county, 89 mm. height, 236 mm. diam. at opening. Cooking receptacles: *c*, 70619, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 190 mm. height, 139–153 mm. diam.; *d*, 70618, Yokuts, Iron Bridge, Tulare county, 156 mm. height, 223 mm. diam.; *e*, 71217, Mono, Cold Springs, Fresno county, 171 mm. height, 152 mm. diam.; *f* (Univ. Calif. collection, Wobonuch Western Mono specimen), 1–27009, 137 mm. height, 230–249 mm. diam. at rim, 146 mm. diam. at base.

Plate 102.—Western Mono pottery, University of California. Medium-sized receptacles, small bowls, and pipes: *a*, 1–27011, 92 mm. height, 181 mm. diam. at rim, 75 mm. diam. at base; *b*, 1–27010, 95 mm. height, 184 mm. diam. at rim, 78 mm. diam. at base; *c*, 1–27013, 70 mm. height, 151 mm. diam. at rim, 83 mm. diam. at base; *d*, pipe now in Göteborg Museum, Sweden; *e*, 1–27016, 44 mm. height, 86 mm. diam. at rim, 35–39 mm. diam. at base; *f*, 1–27014, 65 mm. height, 139 mm. diam. at rim, 85 mm. diam. at base; *g*, 1–27015, 49 mm. height, 84 mm. diam., 44 mm. diam. at base; *h*, 1–27018, 86 mm. length, 24 mm. diam. at rim of bowl.

[p. 252-255 not processed]

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Figure 41.—Baby-basket, acorn-baskets, sifters, &c.

[Facing p. 376]

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

796 825 osity he ignored her caution and joined the other small boys following one of the doctors. The doctor went to Rocky Hill near Porterville where rattlesnakes live among the rocks. When they approached the spot where the snakes were, the doctor told the boys to stay back and not frighten the snakes. In order not to miss seeing the capture of the snakes, José climbed up on a boulder. Here he saw that the doctor was equipped

[285] [315] [531]

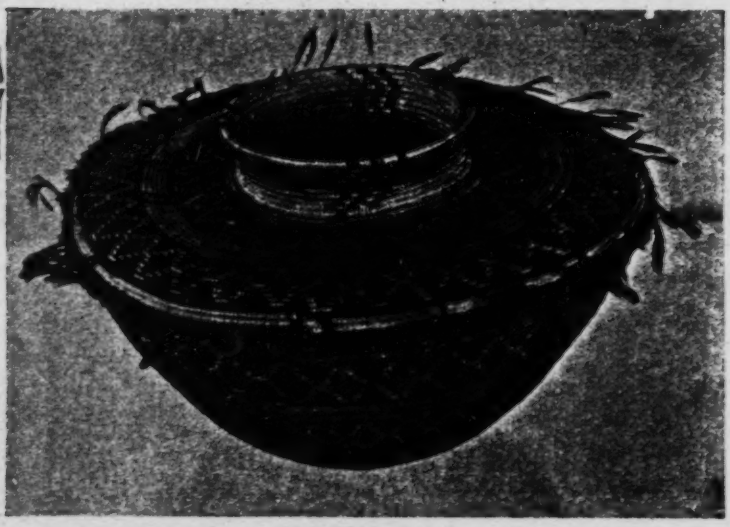

FIG. 5—Rattlesnake Basket of the Yokuts Indians.

with a small whistle, a bottle-shape (shouldered) basket, (Fig. 5) and an eagle-down string. The doctor began blowing on the whistle until some rattlesnakes began to crawl out toward him.

The little boy on the rock became transfixed with fear and curiosity as the snakes approached the shaman as if they were hypnotized. The doctor threw the string of eagle-down behind (?) the snakes to keep them from escaping (?), and then bent down and picked them up and put them into the necked basket. [789]

During the rattlesnake ceremony, José reported, a pit was dug into which the rattlesnakes were placed and some sort of cover (brush ?) was put over the pit. All of the people in attendance would then go past the pit and place one foot over the pit of snakes, but not quite near enough to be struck. As they did this, they threw money onto a blanket lying by the

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in red and white stripes (see section on Dress and Adornment). Then they came back to a level place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

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Although most of informants said this was doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only shamans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

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One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon; in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that game; the white man saw when they shot each other.

"Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that